

## Message Text

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 5 USNATO 1947

STADIS/EXDIS//////////

EYES ONLY FOR ACTING ASST SEC LOWENSTEIN FROM AMBASSADOR STRAUSZ-HUPE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: SOPN NATO  
SUBJ: "SILVER BOWL" ADDRESS

REF: STATE 72294

1. FOLLOWING IN PARA 2 IS THE DRAFT TEXT OF THE "SILVER BOWL" ADDRESS WHICH I PROPOSE TO DELIVER TO THE NAC ON FRIDAY, APRIL 15.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

FIRST, MY THANKS TO THE DIVINE PROVIDENCE THAT ALLOWED ME, WELL ADVANCED IN AGE, TO FULFILL AN OVER-ARCHING AMBITION, NAMELY TO SERVE AS MY COUNTRY'S SPOKESMAN TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, AS WELL AS TO MY COLLEAGUES ON THE COUNCIL, FOR THE UNDERSTANDING, HELPFULNESS AND FRIENDSHIP THAT THEY HAVE SHOWN ME THROUGHOUT THE BRIEF YEAR OF MY TENURE. THE BEST WAY TO EXPRESS MY GRATITUDE, SO IT SEEMS TO ME, IS TO SHARE WITH YOU MY THOUGHTS FILTERED FROM THIS ONE GOLDEN YEAR'S EXPERIENCE.

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SAYING GOODBYE IS NEVER EASY. THE MORE SO, FOR ME, ON THIS OCCASION WHEN I SHALL BE LEAVING THE COMPANY OF MEN WHOSE FRIENDSHIP I HAVE ENJOYED, WHOSE ABILITY I HAVE ADMIRED, AND WHOSE GENEROSITY AND THOUGHTFULNESS HAVE BEEN EVIDENT TO ME, CONSTANTLY, DURING THE TIME I HAVE SPENT WITH THEM.

NOW, THAT GENEROSITY IS EXPRESSED AGAIN IN THE GIFT OF THIS LOVELY BOWL WHICH SHALL REMAIN FOR ME A MARK OF MY COLLEAGUES' KINDNESS AND CONSIDERATION. I AM

DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR THIS SPLENDID GIFT. IT WILL REMIND ME, ALWAYS, OF THE HONOR THE COUNCIL AND MY COUNTRY HAVE BESTOWED ON ME BY INCLUDING ME AMONG ITS MEMBERS.

TO OUR SECRETARY GENERAL, WHO STEERS OUR ACTIVITIES WITH FORCE AND TACT AND WHO, INDEED, ANIMATES THE ENTIRE ALLIANCE WITH HIS WIT AND SPIRIT, I AM PARTICULARLY GRATEFUL FOR HIS SAGACITY AND ADVICE TO ME IN THE CONDUCT OF MY DUTIES. ALWAYS COURTEOUS, EVER FELICITOUS, NEVER DEMURE, AT TIMES IMPLACABLE IN PURSUIT OF THE HIGHER OBJECTIVES OF THIS ALLIANCE, AND INVARIABLY READY TO ENLIVEN OUR MORE DOUR MOMENTS WITH HIS LEVITY AND SPARKLE, JOSEPH LUNS EMBODIES THE FINEST QUALITIES OF LEADERSHIP ON WHICH THE ALLIANCE RELIES.

TO AMBASSADOR CATALANO, OUR ABLE DEAN, I EXTEND MY THANKS AS WELL. HIS SENSE OF MEASURE, HIS SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE, AND HIS INSIGHTFUL CONTRIBUTIONS TO OUR DELIVERATIONS ARE INDISPENSABLE TO THE EFFECTIVE FUNCTIONING OF THE COUNCIL.

TO THE DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL, AMBASSADOR PANSA, AND TO THE DISTINGUISHED CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COMMITTEE, SIR PETER HILL-NORTON, TO WHOM I WOULD ALSO EXPRESS MY GRATITUDE FOR THEIR PERSPICACITY, LUCIDITY, AND ENLIGHTENING DISCOURSE. TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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INTERNATIONAL STAFFS, CIVILIAN AND MILITARY, WHO SERVED WITH SUCH DEDICATION THE COLLECTIVE ENDEAVORS OF THE ALLIANCE; TO THE INTERPRETERS, WHO IMPROVE SO OFTEN ON THE MORE OBSCURE PASSAGES OF OUR DISCOURSE; TO THOSE WHO GUARD AND MAINTAIN OUR BUILDING, I EXTEND ALSO MY APPRECIATION FOR THEIR LOYAL SERVICE.

TO SACEUR AND SACLANT, AND THEIR STAFFS AT SHAPE AND NORFOLK AND AT OUR MILITARY COMMANDS, THE MUSCLE AND SINEWS OF THIS ALLIANCE, I AM DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR THEIR PERSONAL FRIENDSHIP AND HOSPITALITY.

IT HAS BEEN A RARE PRIVILEGE TO SHARE THE COMPANY OF MEN OF SUCH CALIBER AND INTEGRITY.

THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE--THE REAL ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND NOT THE ALLIANCE OF UTOPIA OR THE ALLIANCE DERIDED BY HOSTILE CRITICS--WORKS WELL--AS WELL AS ANY PEACETIME ALLIANCE OF SOVEREIGN NATIONS HAS EVER WORKED IN HISTORY. ITS RECORD AS AN EXPERIMENT IN COLLECTIVE DECISION-MAKING-BY-CONSENSUS ALONE MAKES IT WORTH PRESERVING. THE ISSUES NOW CONFRONTING US AND THE FORESEEABLE SHAPE OF ISSUES-TO-COME MAKE THE ALLIANCE NOT ONLY WORTH PRESERVING BUT ALSO WORTH STRENGTHENING,

FOR THE SOLUTIONS OF THE PROBLEMS PRESSING UPON THE  
WEST ARE BOUND TO EXCEED THE REACH OF ANY WESTERN  
SOVEREIGN NATION, HOWEVER WISE AND POWERFUL. HERE AND  
NOW, THERE EXISTS NO BROADER INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK THAT CAN AS  
EFFECTIVELY ACCOMMODATE THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES' SEARCH FOR  
COMMON POSITIONS ON WORLD POLITICS OTHER THAN THE

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EXDIS  
STADIS//////////  
EYES ONLY FOR ACTING ASST SEC LOWENSTEIN FROM AMBASSADOR STRAUSZ-  
HUPE

WESTERN ALLIANCE. THE WEST'S CENTER-OF-GRAVITY IS  
IN THIS ROOM. IF ANY ONE IGNORES THIS FACT, BE IT  
ONLY FOR A MOMENT, HE DOES SO AT THE EXTREME PERIL OF  
ALL OF US.

TO TAKE A DARK VIEW, AS MANY DISTINGUISHED WESTERN THINKERS  
HAVE, THE MOST IMPORTANT HISTORICAL PHENOMENON OF OUR  
TIMES IS THE SHRINKING GLOBAL INFLUENCE OF THE WEST. FOR A  
LONG TIME, THIS PHENOMENON HAS ENGAGED THE ATTENTION OF  
HISTORIANS AND PHILOSOPHERS. IT IS MORE OBVIOUS THAN ANY  
OTHER THAT LIES WITHIN THE RANGE OF OUR HISTORICAL  
VISION. YET, THROUGHOUT THE WEST, IT SEEMS TO HAVE ENGENDERED  
IN THE WESTERN PUBLIC AT LARGE THAT SENSE OF FATALISTIC IN-  
DIFFERENCE WHICH, SO I HAVE READ, LIVING BY THE SIDE OF A VOLCANO  
INDUCES IN THE LOCAL POPULATION. THE IDENTIFICATION OF THIS  
PHENOMENON IS, HOWEVER, FUNDAMENTAL TO OUR UNDERSTANDING OF  
THE GEOPOLITICAL ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH WE LIVE, FOR IT  
SIGNIFIES A FUNDAMENTAL ALTERATION OF THE WORLD ORDER.

THE DIMENSIONS OF THIS RETREAT HAVE BEEN BOTH GEOPOLITICAL  
AND SPIRITUAL. SINCE THE FIRST DECADES OF THIS CENTURY, THE  
WEST'S SWAY AND THE WEST'S VALUES -- ITS CONCEPTS OF POLITICAL  
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RESPONSIBILITY AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM -- HAVE BEEN LOSING  
CURRENCY.

ALL MAJOR ISSUES OF CONTEMPORARY WORLD POLITICS STEM FROM THIS PHENOMENON, SEEN BY MANY HISTORIANS, AS THE GLOBAL RETREAT OF THE WEST. TO IGNORE THIS FACT THEY CONTEND, IS EITHER A CONFESSION OF HISTORICAL IGNORANCE OR WISHFUL MISREADING OF THE STARK RECORD OF THE WEST'S PROGRESSIVE ATROPHY.

ALL THROUGHOUT THIS AGE OF THE WEST'S PUTATIVE GEOPOLITICAL RETREAT, THE WEST HAS BEEN GROWING RICHER, ITS PEOPLES WAXED MORE PROSPEROUS, ITS SCIENTISTS-TECHNOLOGISTS PERFORMED MIRACLES OF CREATIVITY, AND ITS MATERIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF NON-WESTERN NATIONS FLOWED EVER MORE ABUNDANTLY. IT IS THESE MANIFESTATIONS OF WESTERN INTELLECTUAL AND ECONOMIC PROWESS THAT HAVE LULLED THE WESTERN PUBLICS INTO A SENSE OF COMPLACENCY ABOUT STUBBORN SYMPTOMS THAT POINT UNMISTAKABLY TO THE DECAY OF THE WEST'S GLOBAL POSITION.

TURNING OUR ATTENTION EASTWARD TO THE EXTERNAL THREAT, THERE ARE, AS IN THE CASE OF THE BLIND MEN'S PERCEPTIONS OF THE ELEPHANT, MANY WAYS FOR PERCEIVING THE SOVIET UNION. WE CAN VIEW THE SOVIET UNION AS A NUCLEAR POWER--AS BIG AS THE U.S. OR BIGGER OR SMALLER THAN THE U.S. WE CAN VIEW THE SOVIET UNION AS THE BASE OF MARXIST-LENINIST IDEOLOGY. WE CAN VIEW THE SOVIET UNION AS A TRADITIONAL GREAT POWER, HEIR TO CZARIST GEOPOLITICAL ASPIRATIONS. EACH OF THESE PERCEPTIONS TELS US SOMETHING WE NEED TO KNOW ABOUT SOVIET RUSSIA IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND IT AND ITS WAYS. YET DO THESE PERCEPTIONS SUFFICE FOR AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE SOVIET UNION'S FOREMOST PURPOSE IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AS SEEN BY SO MANY STUDENTS OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY? HAS NOT THE SOVIET UNION-- EVER SINCE THE FIRST YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP AND WHILE CONSOLIDATING AND EXPANDING ITS COLONIAL EMPIRE AND ITS HOLD ON RUSSIAN SOIL -- NOT SOUGHT TO TURN THE NON-EASTERN CONFIDENTIAL

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PEOPLES AGAINST THE WEST AND TO EXPLOIT THOSE CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE WEST AND THE NON-WEST THAT IT DID NOT MANAGE TO SPARK? ALTHOUGH WE MUST VIEW THE END OF WESTERN COLONIALISM AS A MORAL GOOD, DECOLONIZATION HAS CREATED IN MANY PLACES A POLITICAL VOID. CONSISTENTLY, THE SOVIETS HAVE SPARED NO EFFORT TO FILL IT.

IF ANY SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY SEEMS TO SO MANY SEASONED OBSERVERS TO HAVE BEEN CONSISTENT, IS HAS BEEN THIS ONE. THE SOVIETS HAVE PURSUED IT WITH EQUAL PERSEVERANCE AT THE LOWS AND HIGHS OF THEIR POWER. THUS ALL OTHER POLICIES OF THE SOVIET UNION, MILITARY, BILATERAL AND MULTI-LATERAL DIPLOMACY, GLOBAL AND REGIONAL, IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL, CAN BE SEEN AS TRIBUTARY TO THIS ONE POLICY, I.E., THE MOBILIZATION OF THE NON-WESTERN PEOPLES IN THE DRIVE AGAINST THE WEST'S RESIDUAL HOLDINGS AND INFLUENCE IN THE NON-WESTERN WORLD. ON THIS PREMISE LENIN'S

DICTA ON IMPERIALISM HAVE INFORMED AND STILL INFORM THE SOVIET  
VIEW OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS.

THE PURSUIT OF THIS GLOBAL OBJECTIVE IS SEEN BY MANY STRATEGISTS  
AS NOW SUPPORTED BY THE RESOURCES OF A WORLD POWER--A WORLD  
POWER THAT HAS ATTAINED ITS "PLACE IN THE SUN." IN HISTORY,  
THERE IS NO PRECEDENT FOR A WORLD POWER-- PRESENT COMPANY  
EXCEPTED--RENOUNCING VOLUNTARILY ITS IMPERIAL ASPIRATIONS.  
OF ALL THE WORLD POWERS, PAST AND PRESENT, THE SOVIET  
UNION IS THE LEAST LIKELY TO BE AN EXCEPTION FROM  
THIS RULE. FOREIGN SECRETARY DAVID OWEN'S CONCLUSION  
IS THE FOLLOWING: "THE BASIC PREMISE FROM WHICH WE IN  
THE WEST MUST START IS THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS A WORLD  
POWER WITH NATIONAL INTERESTS AND AMBITIONS TO MATCH

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 5 USNATO 1947

EXDIS  
STADIS//////////  
EYES ONLY FOR ACTING ASST SEC LOWENSTEIN FROM AMBASSADOR STRAUSZ-  
HUPE

WHICH INEVITABLY BRING IT INTO COMPETITION, AND  
SOMETIMES CONFRONTATION, WITH THE WEST. TO THIS WE  
MUST ADD THAT COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY INVESTS THE NATURAL  
RIVALRY BETWEEN EAST AND WEST WITH A DYNAMIC OF  
INCREASING STRUGGLE."

THE SOVIET UNION HAS NEVER INTENDED AND DOES NOT  
INTEND NOW TO FIGHT AN AGGRESSIVE NUCLEAR WAR. INDEED,  
THE SOVIET UNION PROBABLY DOES NOT INTEND TO FIGHT ANY KIND OF  
WAR--IF IT CAN HELP IT. FOR THE SOVIET UNION MILITARY  
POWER THAT CANNOT BE PUT TO POLITICAL USE HAS ALWAYS  
BEEN OF NEGLIGIBLE INTEREST. THE PURPOSE OF SOVIET  
MILITARY POWER AS WELL AS ANY OTHER KIND OF POWER HAS  
BEEN TO PROVIDE THE PROPS THAT SUPPORT ITS POLITICAL-  
PSYCHOLOGICAL CONFLICT STRATEGY. THIS CONFLICT  
STRATEGY RELIES UPON THE INDIRECT APPROACH, I.E.:  
THE GRADUAL ENCIRCLEMENT OF THE WEST BY REDUCING ITS  
STRONGHOLDS, STRATEGIC AND ECONOMIC, OUTSIDE THE  
TERRITORIAL LIMITS OF THE WESTERN STATES. AMONG ITS  
MANY DEVICES, THE MOST EFFECTIVE HAS BEEN THE FOMENTING

AND FEEDING OF PROXY WARS, SUCH AS THE WARS IN KOREA AND  
INDO-CHINA AND REVOLUTIONARY WARS IN COLONIAL AND  
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EX-COLONIAL LANDS.

THE CONTINUED COMMUNIST STRUGGLE FOR THE ISOLATION  
OF THE WESTERN "CITY" FROM THE NON-ESTERN "COUNTRY SIDE"--  
AS MAO'S METAPHOR PUTS IT--IS NOT INCOMPATIBLE WITH EAST-  
WEST DETENTE DEFINED AS "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE." INDEED,  
THIS STRUGGLE IS SEEN BY MANY STUDENT OF SOVIET HISTORY AS  
THE RATIONALE OF DETENTE, FOR DETENTE PROVIDES THE OPTIMAL  
CONDITIONS FOR WAGING IT.

LET IT BE CONCEDED HERE THAT THE ECONOMIC AND  
TECHNOLOGICAL BENEFITS TO THE SOVIET UNION OF THE  
DETENTE ARE CONSIDERABLE AND WOULD CONSTITUTE  
SUFFICIENT JUSTIFICATION FOR THE SOVIET DETENTE POLICY--  
IF THE SOVIET UNION WERE A STATUS QUO POWER AS ARE WE. THE  
VIEW CAN BE DEFENDED THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT A STATUS  
QUO POWER, AND THAT THE PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE OF THE SOVIET  
UNION IS NOT TO ACHIEVE A STABLE EQUILIBRIUM WITH US.  
ACCORDING TO THIS VIEW, THE PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE OF THE SOVIET  
UNION IS TO REDUCE THE WORLD'S AREAS UNDER THE WESTERN WRIT, TO  
RAISE THE NON-WESTERN PEOPLES AGAINST THE WEST, AND  
DEPRIVE THE WEST OF THE NON-WESTERN PEOPLES' MATERIAL  
RESOURCES, NOT TO SPEAK OF THEIR GOOD WILL.

ONE OF THE EXPLICIT PURPOSES OF OUR DETENTE POLICY  
IS TO DEVELOP A PERCEPTION OF SHARED INTERESTS THAT WILL  
JOIN US AND THE SOVIET UNION EVER MORE CLOSELY TOGETHER  
IN COMMON PURSUITS--THE QUEST FOR MUTUAL SECURITY, THE COMMON  
FIGHT AGAINST SOME OF THE WORLD'S ILLS, AND MUTUALLY  
PROFITABLE TRADE. ANOTHER PURPOSE OF OUR DETENTE  
POLICY, EXPLICITLY STATED, IS TO INFLUENCE THE FOREIGN  
POLICIES OF THE SOVIET UNION, THOUGH NOT ITS DOMESTIC  
POLICIES. IT STANDS TO REASON, HOWEVER, THAT, THOUGH  
WE REFRAIN FROM INTERFERENCE IN SOVIET DOMESTIC AFFAIRS,  
THE WORKINGS OF THE DETENTE ARE EXPECTED TO BRING  
ABOUT A GRADUAL AND, AS WE PERCEIVE IT, BENEFICIAL  
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TRANSFORMATION OF SOVIET SOCIETY. WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF  
OUR OWN VALUE SYSTEM WE ARE JUSTIFIED IN BELIEVING THAT  
INCREASED TRADE AND PERSONAL INTERCOURSE WILL FOSTER  
SOCIAL CHANGE AND BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN THE SOVIET  
UNION AND OUR CIVILIZATION. IN BRIEF, THE SOVIET UNION  
WILL DEVELOP INTO AN INDUSTRIAL-URBAN CONSUMER SOCIETY  
LIKE OUR OWN; TAKE ITS PLACE BY OUR SIDE AMONG THE  
STATUS QUO POWERS--AND, THUS, GROW MORE "WESTERN" BY

NOT ONLY ACQUIRING THE WEST'S MATERIAL ACCESSORIES, BUT  
ALSO APPROXIMATING THE WEST'S POLITICAL-SOCIAL WAY OF  
LIFE.

MANY BELIEVE THAT THE EVIDENCE CULLED FROM THE HISTORY OF  
RUSSIA, CZARIST AND COMMUNIST, DOES NOT SHOW THAT THE RUSSIAN  
PEOPLE EVER WANTED TO BE WESTERN, NOR THAT IT PROVIDES  
GROUNDS FOR ASSUMING THAT THEY WILL CHANGE THEIR MIND.  
EXCEPT FOR A MINISCULE ELITE THAT, IN THE NINETEENTH  
CENTURY, LOOKED TO THE WEST FOR POLITICAL AND CULTURAL  
INSPIRATION, THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE, INCLUDING SOME OF THEIR  
GREATEST WRITERS, HAVE ALWAYS REGARDED THE  
WEST WITH  
STOLID INDIFFERENCE, IF NOT WITH DISDAIN AND MISTRUST.

THE ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF THE SOVIET REGIME--A  
RULE IMPOSED FROM ABOVE; AN OMNIPOTENT BUREAUCRACY; AN  
OMNIPRESENT POLICE; TIGHT CENSORSHIP; MONOLITHIC CONTROL  
OF PUBLIC OPINION AND CULTURAL LIFE; A JUDICIARY SERVING  
AS THE OBEDIENT INSTRUMENT OF STATE POWER; THE STATE'S  
STONY INDIFFERENCE TOWARDS HUMAN RIGHTS; AND THE RUSSIAN  
PEOPLE'S UNPROTESTING ACCEPTANCE OF ALL THESE THINGS--  
ARE REPLICAS OF CZARIST AUTOCRACY AND KIN TO THE GREAT  
DESPOTISMS OF OLD. IN SUM, RUSSIAN POPULAR SENTIMENT  
REINFORCES THE ANTI-WESTERN THRUST OF LENIN'S DOGMAS  
ON "IMPERIALISM."

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 5 USNATO 1947

STADIS/EXDIS//////////

EYES ONLY FOR ACTING ASST SEC LOWENSTEIN FROM AMBASSADOR STRAUSZ-  
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EVEN IF IT WERE NOT FOR THE DOCTRINAL AMBIGUITIES  
OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE," FAMILIAR TO EVERY KOMSOMOL,  
SOVIET MAN COULD NOT HELP BUT PERCEIVE OF THE DETENTE  
IN A CONTEXT QUITE DIFFERENT FROM OURS. FOR HIM, AS  
FOR US, DETENTE SIGNIFIES A MEASURE OF SECURITY AGAINST  
TOTAL WAR. UNLIKE US, HE VIEWS THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THIS  
CONDITION AS THE DIRECT, INELUCTABLE RESULT OF THE  
WEAKENING OF THE WEST. THIS WEAKENING OF THE WEST, SO

HE IS TOLD BY THE MYRIAD VOICES OF PUBLIC INDOCTRINATION, HAS BEEN BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE PRESSURES OF SUPERIOR COMMUNIST POWER AS WELL AS THE INTERNAL DECAY--THE "CONTRADICTIONS"--OF THE M "CAPITALIST," I.E., THE WESTERN SYSTEM. IN BRIEF, SOVIET DOMESTIC PROPAGANDA HAILS DETENTE AS ANOTHER BATTLE WON ON THE LONG ROAD TO COMMUNIST VICTORY. NOW, IT ONLY REMAINS TO PUSH WHAT IS FALLING. THIS PUSH CAN NOW BE APPLIED, WITH RENEWED FORCE AND WITHOUT INCURRING UNACCEPTABLE POLITICAL-MILITARY RISKS, AGAINST THE SOFT UNDERBELLY OF THE WEST, I.E., THE RESOURCES AND MARKETS ON WHICH THE WEST'S LIFE DEPENDS.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

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TO PROPOSE THAT WE SCRAP, HERE AND NOW, OUR POLICIES THAT GO BY THE NAME OF DETENTE WOULD BE BOTH UNPOLITIC AND FRIVOLOUS. AGREEMENTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON ARMS CONTROL THAT STRENGTHEN OUR SECURITY ARE CATEGORICALLY IN OUR INTEREST. SO ARE AGREEMENTS ON TRADE THAT ADHERE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF RECIPROCITY AND DO NOT ACCRU SIGNIFICANTLY TO THE ADVANTAGE OF SOVIET MILITARY TECHNOLOGY. SMALL AS IS THE IMPACT OF THE EXCHANGES OF PERSONS AND IDEAS UPON THE FOREIGN POLICIES OF A GREAT POWER SUCH AS THE SOVIET UNION, THE INCREASE IN HUMAN CONTRACTS BETWEEN OURSELVES AND THE PEOPLES UNDER SOVIET RULE IS LIKELY, IN THE LONG RUN, TO BENEFIT US. THE RIVALRY BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNIST GREAT POWERS PROVIDES US--AND, FOR A WHILE, MIGHT STILL PROVIDE US--VALUABLE STRATEGIC AND DIPLOMATIC ADVANTAGES, THOUGH THIS RIVALRY DOES NOT NECESSARILY STRENGTHEN THE WEST'S POSITION RELATIVE TO THE THIRD WORLD.

I HERE ASSERT THAT THE FIRST AND OVERARCHING PRIORITY OF WESTERN POLICY MUST BE THE SELF DEFENSE AND REAISANCE OF THE WEST. IN OTHER WORDS, I BELIEVE THAT POLICIES THAT DO NOT LIE IN THE COLLECTIVE INTEREST OF THE WEST AND THE WORLD AS A WHOLE DO NOT SERVE THE INTERESTS OF ANY WESTERN NATION EITHER.

THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT THE CATEGORIC AFFIRMATION OF OUR WESTERN PRIORITY WILL DISTRESS THE SOVIET RULERS AND THE RULING ESTABLISHMENTS OF SOME NON-WESTERN LANDS. AS FAR AS THE SOVIET RULERS ARE CONCERNED, THE AFFIRMATION OF OUR WESTERN PRIORITY WILL NOT HARDEN THEIR PURPOSE, NAMELY, THE DISCOMFIT OF THE WEST ANY MORE THAN THE LACK OF THIS AFFIRMATION HAS SOFTENED IT. IN BRIEF, NOTHING THAT WE SAY OR DO WILL DEFLECT SOVIET STRATEGY FROM ITS FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVE. THAT THIS OBJECTIVE HAPPENS TO HAVE BEEN LARGELY THE OBVERSE OF OURS, IS THE DILEMA OF WORLD POLITICS. IF WE WERE TO LEAD THE SOVIETS TO BELIEVE THAT WE DO NOT SEE WHAT IS SO CLEARLY AT ISSUE, THEN WE WOULD ENCOURAGE THEM TO ENGAGE IN THE KIND OF

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VENTURES THAT, IN THE PAST, HAVE BROUGHT THEM AND US TO  
THE "BRINK."

IDEALLY, THE DESIRE TO DO GREAT THINGS IN COMMON--  
TO BUILD A PERFECT SOCIETY AND TO CURE THE WORLD'S ILLS--  
SHOULD MOVE THE WESTERN PEOPLES TOWARDS UNION. AS IT IS,  
THE WESTERN PEOPLES' STAKES IN THEIR COMMON CIVILIZATION,  
TOGETHER WITH THEIR COUNTLESS INTERRELATIONSHIPS IN  
TRADE, SCIENCE AND CULTURE, HAVE NOT PERSUADED THEM TO  
JOIN IN A POLITICAL COMMUNITY.

THE HISTORY OF THIS CENTURY HAS REVEALED PLAINLY THE  
DISMAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE WESTERN PEOPLES' INABILITY TO  
PFCIVE AND TO MEET IN COMMON A CHALLENGE THAT THREATENS  
TO OVERWHELM EACH AND ALL OF THEM. JUST AS PLAINLY,  
THEY POINT TO THE ONE AND ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO THE WEST'S  
ULTIMATE COMMUNITY IN DEFEAT.

INCREASINGLY, THE GRAVEST CHALLENGES TO THE  
ALLIANCE CIRCUMVENT THE AREA AND TRANSCEND THE PROVISIONS OF THE  
TREATY OF WASHINGTON OF 1949. THE TIME IS NOW TO COME  
TO GRIPS WITH THE NATURE OF THESE CHALLENGES AND TO  
REASSESS THE ROLE OF THE ALLIANCE AS THE GUARDIAN OF  
THE WEST'S COLLECTIVE SECURITY. ONCE AGAIN, THERE ARISES  
THE NEED FOR RESURGENCE OF THAT CREATIVE POLITICAL  
WILL THAT FOUNDED THE ALLIANCE.

IT HAS BEEN THE WEST'S GOOD FORTUNE TO FIND,  
AT ITS MOST CRITICAL HISTORICAL TURNING POINTS,  
LEADERS OF VISION AND PURPOSE. WE CAN TAKE HEART FROM  
PRESIDENT CARTER'S INSPIRING CALL TO GREAT UNDERTAKINGS.  
IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS HE SAID: "THE PASSION FOR  
FREEDOM IS ON THE RISE....TAPPING THIS NEW SPIRIT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 5 OF 5 USNATO 1947

EXDIS  
STADIS////////

EYES ONLY FOR ACTING ASST SEC LOWENSTEIN FROM AMBASSADOR STRAUSZ-HUPE

THERE CAN BE NO NOBLER OR AMBITIOUS TASK FOR US TO  
UNDERTAKE THAN TO HELP SHARE A JUST AND PEACEFUL  
WORLD THAT IS TRULY HUMANE." STRIKING THIS SAME NOTE,  
VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE TOLD US, ON JANUARY 23RD, THAT  
"THERE IS A NEW FAITH IN THE STRENGTH OF OUR DEMOCRATIC  
SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, A NEW WILLINGNESS TO MEET  
CHALLENGING AND CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES ABROAD."  
THE VICE PRESIDENT WENT ON TO SAY: "I SHARE THE CONFIDENCE  
OF THE PRESIDENT THAT TOGETHER WE WILL BE EQUAL TO THE  
TASKS OF THE FUTURE."

WESTERN CIVILIZATION IS WELL WORTH WORKING AND  
FIGHTING FOR. IT IS THE ONLY CIVILIZATION TO DATE THAT  
HAS STRUCK AN EVEN BALANCE BETWEEN THE MATERIAL AND THE  
MORAL ASPIRATIONS OF THE GREATEST NUMBER OF MEN AND  
WOMEN. LIKE ALL CIVILIZATIONS BEFORE IT, IT RESTS UPON  
THIS EARTH. ITS SWAY EXTENDS FROM A TERRITORIAL BASE.  
THIS BASE IS WELL WORTH DEFENDING, FOR WITHOUT IT WESTERN  
CIVILIZATION FADES INTO A PHILOSOPHICAL ABSTRACTION  
BEREFT OF CREATIVE FORCE.

THE MUCH DISCUSSED ALIENATION OF OUR YOUTH FROM THE  
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VALUES OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION IS, IN FACT, AN ALIENATION  
FROM REALITY: THE ALIENATED YOUNG, BECAUSE THEY TAKE THE  
SECURITY AND WEALTH OF OUR CIVILIZATION FOR GRANTED, DO  
NOT SEE WHY THEY SHOULD WORK AND FIGHT FOR IT. THUS,  
THEIR ALIENATION IS NOT SO MUCH ENGENDERED BY ANGUISHED  
DISCONTENT AS THE INABILITY OF THEIR ELDERS TO COMPEL THEIR  
IMAGINATION, TO CHANNEL THEIR ENERGIES, OR TO STIMULATE  
THEM TO CONFRONT THE CHALLENGES TO THE SOCIETY THAT HAS  
NURTURED THEM. ALL OUR YOUNG PEOPLE, ALIENATED AND  
UNALIENATED, WHGTO BE TOLD THAT THE WEALTH AND SECURITY  
OF OUR CIVILIZATION ARE AT RISK. ONLY THE CALL TO GREAT  
UNDERTAKINGS WILL FIRE THEIR IMAGINATION AND STIR THEM  
TO ACTION. THE MAKING OF WESTERN UNITY IS THE GREATEST  
UNDERTAKING OF OUR TIMES. IF THE YOUNG AS WELL AS THE OLD  
WILL NOT HEED THAT CALL, THEN WE NEED NO LONGER FRET ABOUT  
THE FUTURE OF THE WESTERN PEOPLES. THEN, THAT FUTURE WILL  
BE WHAT THE WEST'S ENEMIES WILL MAKE OF IT. I BELIEVE  
THAT THE TEMPER OF THE WESTERN PEOPLES DOES NOT TEND TOWARDS  
APATHY AND SELF-DESTRUCTION. HENCE, I HOLD THAT THE WEST  
IS STILL STRONG AND WISE ENOUGH TO GRASP THE PRESENT  
OPPORTUNITY FOR CREATING A FUTURE ORDER THAT WILL BE  
WHAT WE AND NOT OUR ENEMIES WILL MAKE IT.

THE WEST'S FIBER IS SOUND, SOUND ENOUGH FOR US TO  
REJECT OUT OF HAND THE DARK MESSAGES OF SPENGLERIAN DOOM.

IN HIS SPEECH TO THE UNITED NATIONS, PRESIDENT CARTER SAID: "I SEE A HOPEFUL WORLD, A WORLD DOMINATED BY INCREASING DEMANDS FOR BASIC FREEDOMS, FOR FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS, FOR HIGHER STANDARDS OF HUMAN EXISTENCE." IT SHOULD BE OUR COMMON TASK TO SEE TO IT THAT THESE DEMANDS--DEMANDS SPARKED BY THE ETHOS OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION--ARE BEING MET.

IN CONCLUSION, I VENTURE TO ENTREAT YOU, MY COLLEAGUES AND FRIENDS, TO GUARD IN THE FUTURE THAT UNIQUE INSTITUTION, NATO, AS WELL AS YOU HAVE GUARDED IT IN THE

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PAST. THE ALLIANCE HAS SERVED AND SHOULD SERVE IN THE FUTURE AS AN EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT OF NEGOTIATION ON EAST-WEST ISSUES. BUT THE ALLIANCE ITSELF AND THE STAKE OF EACH MEMBER IN IT MUST NEVER BE NEGOTIABLE--HOWEVER ENTICING MIGHT BE THE OFFER. WHEN IT WAS FOUNDED, THE ALLIANCE MIGHT HAVE BEEN CONCEIVED AS AN EXPEDIENT IMPROVISATION. SINCE THEN THE ALLIANCE HAS TURNED INTO A CONSTANT, PERHAPS THE ONE AND ONLY CONSTANT OF WESTERN STATECRAFT. ON THIS ROCK RESTS THE WEST'S EDIFICE.

END TEXT. STRAUSZ-HUPE

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## Message Attributes

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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
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**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009